

Constraints on lexical-constructural integration: substance emission verbs and the stative passive construction

Luana Amaral¹, Alexandre Carvalho²

¹Federal University of Minas Gerais, luanalopes@ufmg.br ²Federal University of Minas Gerais, carvalhoalexandre@ufmg.br

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Passives are nonbasic voice constructions which allow the expression of participants highly salient in discourse which do not have salient semantic properties (Croft 2022). More specifically, the stative passive is a type of passive construction which emphasizes the resultant state of an affected participant of the event, as in (1). According to Croft (2012), this construction only profiles the result state phase of an event. Thus, the stative passive construction is commonly assumed to be able to be combined with verbs that describe changes of state, but not with activity verbs (Croft 1991; Kratzer 2000; Gehrke 2011). Some types of substance emission verbs (as *pee*, *vomit*, *sweat*, etc.), however, although belonging to the second group, occur in the stative passive construction in Portuguese, as in (2). The goal of this work is to analyze such phenomenon, and try to determine constraints that allow for such verbs to (unexpectedly) occur in the stative passive construction. Following a constructional approach (Croft 2012, 2022), we hypothesize that these verbs are not coerced by the constructions, but they have potential to be construed in such a way that their meaning can be compatible with the function of the stative passive construction. For our analysis, we collected 20 substance emission verbs from Borba's (1990) dictionary and also utterances that instantiate each verb in the stative passive construction in Portuguese (Table 1). These verbs lexicalize events in which an animate individual expels some type of substance from out of their body. And as these verbs describe the expulsion of a substance from a source, they also allow a path conceptualization, in which the emitted substance travels a path to a destination, as in (3). Within this conceptualization, the place in which the substance emitted is located as a result of the event is the participant which plays the subject role of the stative passive construction. It is important to note that such surface can also be the body of the individual in itself, as in (4). We argue that such conceptualization is possible, and thus the integration with the stative passive, because in our everyday life if someone spits, vomits or sweats on a surface, that surface becomes dirty – it changes state. That final state, once salient in discourse, is possibly expressed by a stative passive construction. This conclusion can be reinforced by the fact that the substance emitted needs to be “sticky” enough to be able to affect the destination. Verbs such as *soprar* ‘blow’, for example, were not found in the stative passive construction. The destination of an emitted entity, although not semantically salient (as a causer or agent), is highly salient in discourse, especially considering our everyday experience when we have to clean up a surface that has been peed, vomited or sweated on. We conclude, thus, that substance emission verbs can be combined with the stative passive construction because they allow a type of event conceptualization in which one participant – highly salient in discourse – is seen as affected as a result of the event.

(1) This water is purified. (Croft 2012: 109)

(2) a) Apenas sem lugar para dormir pois minha cama está mijada.
only without place to sleep because my bed is peed
'I don't have a place to sleep because my bed has pee on it.'

b) O tapete também está vomitado.
the rug also is vomited
'The rug also has vomit on it.'

c) A porra do lençol está suado.
the damn of.the sheet is sweated
'The damn sheet has sweat on it.'
(Carvalho 2022: 101, 116, 108)

(3) a) Minha cachorra veio e mijou no tapete do meu banheiro.
my dog.FEM came and peed on.the rug of.the my bathroom
'My dog came and she peed on my bathroom's rug.'

b) Eu tinha 6 anos e vomitei no banco de trás do carro.
I had 6 years and vomited on.the seat of back of.the car
'I was 6 and I vomited on the back seat of the car.'

c) Eu suei no travesseiro.

- I sweated on the pillow
'I sweated on the pillow.'
(Carvalho 2022: 101, 115, 107)
- (4) a) Flay está mijada de ontem e não tomou banho.
Flay is peed from yesterday and not took shower
'Flay is covered with pee since yesterday and she did not take a shower.'
- b) Yoongi está vomitado e bêbado.
Yoongi is vomited and drunk
'Yoongi is drunk and covered with vomit.'
- c) Lucas está todo suado sujo.
Lucas is all sweated dirty
'Lucas is all sweated and dirty.'
(Carvalho 2022: 101, 116, 108)

Table 1: sample of the data set analyzed in this research, from Carvalho (2022).

Verb	Occurrence in the stative passive construction
1. Babar 'drool'	"Hoje eu sonhei com brigadeiro branco meu travesseiro está todo babado"
2. Baforar 'breathe'	<i>Not found</i>
3. Cagar 'shit'	"Entro no ônibus, e o banco está cagado"
4. Cuspir 'spit'	"Mas todos sabemos que provavelmente meu lanche está cuspidado."
5. Defecar 'defecate'	"Meu chinelo está defecado vei"
6. Ejacular 'ejaculate'	"Segundo Judy, é mais provável que o pênis pareça que está ejaculado."
7. Escarrar 'spit'	"Aquele lugar já está escarrado demais kk"
8. Espirrar 'sneeze'	"Passando pra dizer que seu moletom está todo tossido, espirrado e babado hehehehe"
9. Lacrimejar 'tear up'	"Sim, os olhos estão lacrimejados."
10. Menstruar 'menstruate'	"MARIA ESTÁ MENSTRUADA"
11. Mijar 'pee'	"o mais legal é só perceber que o tapete está mijado quando eu piso nele."
12. Peidar 'fart'	"Andressa Linhares, tenho que dizer, ja tive vontade de da um rolê pela escola na tua cadeira, mesmo sendo todo peidado."
13. Regurgitar 'regurgitate'	"[...] e o bebezinho está no berço chorando, está regurgitado ou está com a fralda suja [...]"
14. Salivar 'salivate'	<i>Not found</i>
15. Soprar 'blow'	<i>Not found</i>
16. Suar 'sweat'	"Ele se atrasou de novo, na verdade. As fotos foram depois de ele se apresentar. Por isso que Shawn está suado e com o cabelo oleoso ahahahah (mas continua lindo)"
17. Tossir 'cough'	"Passando pra dizer que seu moletom está todo tossido, espirrado e babado hehehehe"
18. Transpirar 'perspire'	"a minha pergunta é: será que esta gente não percebe que está transpirada e que cheira mal?"
19. Urinar 'urinate'	"@LorenaCicari eu esqueci de te avisar que sua coberta está urinada..."
20. Vomitar 'vomit'	"E o livro que você deixou na mesa está vomitado e com a capa em frangalhos, a roupa que você ainda nem comprou e está na vitrine já tem pelos [...]"

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